*Will There Be A Summit Meeting? P. 5*

**Exclusive Full Text: How the AEC Hid the Truth About Radioactive Peril, Especially to Children, Pp. 2-4**

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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# Better Creeping Socialism Than Stumbling Capitalism

For one who, like the writer, was an active newspaperman and editorial writer in the Great Depression of the 30's, the striking aspect of the panicky discussion precipitated in the capital by the current recession is the stale lack of new ideas. The conservatives in both parties, like the conservatives a generation ago, believe that a sound recovery is only possible if deflation runs its course and squeezes prices and wages down to the point where new capital investment becomes profitable again. Though no one dares express this frankly, this is the reason for the opposition to a tax cut. The rich Texans who play so dominant a role in the leadership of both parties believe "a little healthy deflation" is long overdue, and fear to encourage a new upsurge of buying before there has been a downward readjustment of production costs. So Secretary of the Treasury Anderson, Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Rayburn are linked in a bipartisan coalition to choke off tax cut pressure in Congress. The ultimate philosophy of this group, as of Herbert Hoover in the 30's, is that of the big capitalists, who can weather and even benefit by a depression—so long as it does not go too far—and who see the basic standard of governmental action as the maintenance of profitability in the economy. The way to restore profitability is to squeeze costs, particularly wages. For this purpose a margin of unemployment is "healthy."

### Bigger Than All FDR's WPAs

On the other hand, the labor movement, the majority of farmers, and the smaller business men, for whom the Democratic party traditionally speaks, have no better remedy to offer than renewed inflation, particularly through a stepped up arms race. No one stands back and takes a good look at our economy and tries to evaluate the striking fact that a recession of unpredictable dimensions has begun even though for ten years our economy has been leaning on the inflationary crutch of an arms budget running about 40 billion dollars a year. This has been a WPA of enormous proportions, far larger than the spending FDR dared to do in the 30's. If we can have a recession despite so huge a pump-priming operation, if even this is not able to maintain full employment, then obviously we need measures more thoughtful and more thorough-going than a tax cut of 3 to 6 billion, and some miscellaneous public works, road-building and the like. If even wasting (from an economic point of view, it *is* waste), 40 billions a year on arms cannot keep this economy on an even keel, then these piddling measures cannot be expected to cure it.

The truth is that we will never know how to run our economy properly until we at least have the courage to look at it *as it is*. We Americans pride ourselves on our pragmatism, but in the field of social theory we are frozen into immobility by stereotypes which bear only a distant resemblance to reality. "Free enterprise" is a national deity none dare question. But the American economic system is not a system of free enterprise. It is a mixture of corporate enterprise, which FDR once called "private collectivism," and of public ownership and control, with some genuine private enterprise of the classic free market type still struggling on the edges. The great corporations keep prices rigid; it is the smaller business men who must stand the gaff of price adjustments. The basic materials of industry are all more or less controlled by private combines. Some way to subject their prices to public control, some measures of overall planning to maintain output, a willingness to embark on measures of public ownership and development in those areas where corporate enterprise is impotent, as in the development of the great river valleys, is necessary if we are to have a healthy and growing economy, *especially if we manage to moderate the arms race and end the drift toward war*. Then, in peaceful competition with the Soviet bloc, the future will depend on whether we can handle our economy free from shibboleths as a mixed economy, part free, part corporate, part public. If this means creeping socialism, that is far better than stumbling capitalism, to use Bishop Oxnam's vivid phrase. (See box above).

### It Took Bravery for A Bishop to Say This

**"We talk of free enterprise, and rightly, and I think with proper pride. But the world has eyes to see and ears to hear, and knows full well that we are facing serious issues. Personally, I do not wish the collective ownership or the democratic management of the principal means of production, distribution, and exchange that was advocated by the Socialist of a generation ago, but I must face the fact that there is something radically wrong with so-called 'free enterprise.'**

**"I am fearful of stumbling capitalism as well as of creeping socialism. The truth is there are services to the nation that can be rendered more effectively by the people acting together. For instance, social security, the St. Lawrence waterway, the Tennessee Valley Authority, our national parks. We reveal ourselves to the world as reactionaries when we continue to label such measures as subversive or creeping socialism. Our task is to turn to the great problems of our free economy and find solutions to issues facing the railroads and the mines. A few more eggheads in the automobile industry to supplant the blockheads who have designed our recent cars would be in our national interest.**

**"Who are the madmen who build cars so long they cannot be parked . . . so low that an average human being has to crawl in the doors and so powerful that no man dare use the horsepower available?"**

*—Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist National Convocation on Urban Life, Feb. 20.*

# Report Accuses AEC of Failing to Be Candid About Radioactive Danger

**We publish here the full text of a report by the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy on the way in which the Atomic Energy Commission has failed to be candid with the public on radioactive fallout, particularly with regard to its dangers for growing children and the role milk plays in the absorption by humans of the new man-made poison, Strontium 90.**

**The National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy, whose recent full page advertisements have been signed by such notables as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Walter Reuther, includes among its executive members Dr. Hugh Wolfe, of the Federation of American Scientists; Dr. Charles C. Price, Univ. of Penna., and Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review. Trevor Thomas is executive secretary. Its address is 202 E. 44th St., New York 17.**

The Atomic Energy Commission is required by law to safeguard the public from radiation that might be disseminated by activities which employ nuclear energy (from bomb tests and reactors). Assessment of this hazard is a scientific matter. The task—properly viewed as a scientific problem—may be divided into two parts. (a) The intensity and characteristics of radiation to which humans are exposed must be determined by suitable physical measurements. This is a straightforward matter and involves clearly understood theory and widely accepted types of practice. (b) The expected biological effect of the radiation must be assessed. This matter is beset with difficulties, both with regard to experimental data, and with respect to interpretation and conclusions. One cannot expect the biological evaluation to be as precise, or as free from legitimate differences in interpretation, as the physical radiation data.

In this situation it is reasonable to expect that any evaluation of the biological hazard from fallout radiation will be based on the following:

1. A statement of the best available physical data regarding the occurrence of fallout radiation. This should include the range of values in various places and at various times.

2. A statement of the scientifically valid estimates of the expected biological hazard from the above radiation. Since this estimate is subject to a wide range of uncertainties, such a statement must include the range of extreme interpretations that are supported by what data are available. In practice such a statement would represent the several views of various scientists competent to judge the data—which will of course range from optomistic to pessimistic with regard to anticipated hazard.

3. As facts are accumulated, and matters become more certain the foregoing statements should be progressively modified in whatever direction is dictated by the evidence.

In what follows it will be shown that in a number of important instances, the AEC has not followed this procedure. It will be shown that the AEC has instead tended to foster the most optimistic interpretation (i.e., which most minimizes the expected hazard from fallout radiation) and that the AEC has altered this position only under the pressure of outside scrutiny and attack. This evidence tends to show that the AEC's evaluation of the fallout hazard has not been based on the standards of objectivity and candor that are customary in scientific matters.

1. *The general hazard from Sr 90 in fallout.*

It is now known that one of the major biological effects of fallout radiation results from the accumulation of Sr 90 in the bones of growing children, and that this isotope is absorbed from milk, which is the major food source of the minerals required during bone formation. These facts are *now* publicly acknowledged by the AEC. This discussion deals with the questions: (1) When were these facts made public by the AEC? (2) Was this publication on AEC initiative, or forced by external events?

The foregoing facts are described in the 21st Semiannual Report of the AEC (dated Jan. 1957). This report also states that "The dissemination of strontium 90 from nuclear detonations and of subsequent uptake by humans have been under study by the Commission since 1948." (p. 213) This statement is followed by a footnote: "Certain aspects of radiostrontium research were reported earlier: pp. 115-122, Thirteenth Semiannual Report (July-Dec. 1953); pp. 53-54, Sixteenth Semiannual Report (Jan.-June 1954); Appendix 7, Eighteenth Semiannual Report (Jan.-June 1955); pp. 69-72, Nineteenth Semiannual Report (July-Dec. 1955); pp. 105-106, Twentieth Semiannual Report (Jan.-June 1956)."

Evidently then we can determine the answers to the above questions by examining the foregoing chronology of AEC statements about Sr 90. This chronology follows.

a) *Jan. 1953*—(Thirteenth Semiannual Report, pp. 115-122): This section is entitled "Long-Term Effects of Fallout." It describes the dissemination of Sr 90 from nuclear tests, its occurrence in soil, food plants and animals. Two references to the possibility of absorption of Sr 90 by *humans* occur. One of these (p. 122) is as follows:

> Uptake by Animals. Cattle and other animals may eat plants which contain radioactive materials from fall-out. Studies have been made of the possibility of hazard to humans as a result of eating meat from such animals. These studies indicate that the bone-seeking radioisotopes are of greatest potential concern and that the chief among these is radiostrontium.
>
> Cattle absorb 25 to 30 percent of the ingested strontium, with about 25 percent reaching the bone. A few days after entrance of radiostrontium into the body, about 90 percent of the remaining amount will be in the bones. *The only potential hazard to human beings would be the ingestion of bone splinters which might be intermingled with muscle tissue during butchering and cutting of the meat. An insignificant amount would enter the human body in this fashion.*

Note that there is no mention of Sr 90 absorption via milk —which is, of course, the major food source of Sr 90.

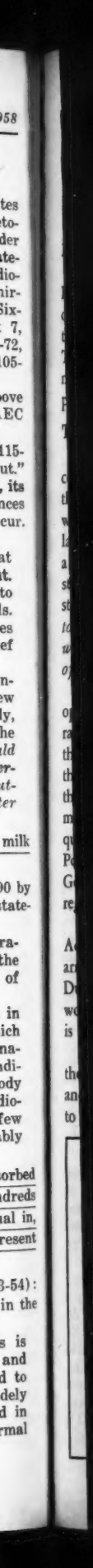
The second reference is the possible absorption of Sr 90 by eating plant food containing this isotope. The pertinent statement (p. 120) follows:

> Plants have been grown in soil containing a concentration of fission products equivalent to that produced by the maximum fall-out observed in the immediate vicinity of the point of detonation.
>
> One to two hundred pounds of these plants, grown in the very high concentration of fission products which might be found in the immediate vicinity of the detonations on the proving ground, could be eaten by an individual without acquiring the maximum permissible body burden of radioactive strontium. The maximum radioactive content of plants grown at a distance of a few miles from the point of detonation would be considerably lower.

This statement fails to point out that the Sr 90 absorbed by humans in food *accumulates* in the bone. Thus hundreds of pounds of plant food *will* be ingested by an individual in, say, 15-20 years of growth, during which time Sr 90 present in food will accumulate in the individual's bones.

b) *July 1954*—(Sixteenth Semiannual Report, pp. 53-54): These pages comprise a brief section entitled "Fallout in the United States." This section reads as follows:

> Following nuclear detonations, radioactive debris is distributed by normal air currents over large areas and with sufficiently sensitive instruments may be found to encircle the globe. Small amounts were deposited widely over the United States during the Pacific tests and in some areas resulted in transitory rises of the normal background radiation levels.



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# How the Menace of Strontium 90 in Milk Was Glossed Over

Transportation of the radioactive materials to the United States took only several days. Thus some of the shorter half-life radioisotopes, such as iodine 131 (8-day half-life), were still present in the fall-out. Although the amounts of radioactivity deposited were biologically insignificant, it was possible, by special techniques, to demonstrate radioiodine in the thyroid glands and in the urine of grazing animals. Extremely minute quantities of iodine 131 were also detectable in the urine of some humans for a short time.

The radioactive isotopes to be found normally in the body are potassium 40, carbon 14 and radium 226. The radiopotassium and radiocarbon are distributed throughout the tissues while the radium is almost entirely located in the skeleton. In addition to this internal irradiation, man is subjected to cosmic rays from without and to the gamma rays from radium in the soil. To this natural exposure, the radiation from bomb products is added. The point of interest in terms of health lies not in the mere presence of radioisotopes, but in the amounts and more specifically in the quantity of radiation doses delivered by these radioisotopes. The levels of activity from fallout, outside the area surrounding the Pacific Proving Ground, have been far less than any required to produce detectable injury either from the radioisotopes within the body or from external radiation, or from a combination of the two.

Note that there is *no mention of Sr 90 whatever* and that the statement closes with the assurance that no health hazard from fallout exists.

c. *July 1955*—(Eighteenth Semiannual Report, Appendix 7): This section entitled "Radiostrontium Fall-out" reads as follows:

34. One of the most biologically important radioactive substances found in fall-out is strontium 90. It has a long lifetime—nearly 30 years on the average. Radiostrontium has a chemical similarity to calcium and, therefore, when taken into the body it has a tendency to collect in the bones. Radiostrontium can enter the body in two ways—by inhaling or by swallowing. Normally, the amount inhaled would be small compared with the amount one might swallow. Fall-out material deposited directly on edible parts of plants may be eaten along with the plants, but washing the plants before they are eaten would remove most of this radioactive material. However, rainfall carrying the radiostrontium down to earth may deposit it in the soil where it can be taken up, in part, by plants and incorporated into plant tissues, later to be eaten by humans or by grazing animals which, in turn, provide food for humans.

35. Since the start of nuclear tests, careful measurements have been made of the distribution of radiostrontium over the earth's surface, in the soils, in plants and animal tissues, in the oceans, in rain, in the atmosphere and in all forms in which it might be expected to occur. The results of this study are reassuring. The amount of radiostrontium now present in the soil as a result of all nuclear explosions to date would have to be increased many thousand times before any effect on humans would be noticeable.

Note that this section does not mention the most dangerous source of Sr 90—milk, and again concludes with wholly unsupported statements of reassurance. There is no mention of the special problem of growing children, or of the wide individual variation in Sr 90 uptake.

d. *Jan. 1956*—(Nineteenth Semiannual Report, pp. 69-72): This section, entitled "Concentration of Strontium 90 in Human Bones," reads as follows:

Assays of fragments of human bones available from routine surgical operations indicates the degree to which strontium 90 has entered the skeletons of persons of various ages. The highest concentrations have been observed in children, amounting to about one-micro-mircrocurie (one-trillionth curie) of strontium 90 per gram of skeletal calcium. Assays of vegetation, animal tissues and milk indicate the principal paths by which strontium 90 enters the body and, with other data, provide a basis for estimating the dependence of such entry upon pertinent factors.

It is believed that skeletal concentrations of strontium 90 required to produce observable skeletal injury to human beings are several thousand times those which have been observed in the United States. Concentrations required to produce serious injury may range from ten thousand to more than a hundred thousand times those which have been observed. These degrees of uncertainty exist because there is no specific experience involving injury to human beings by radioactive strontium. The estimates are based on long study of the effects of radium in the human skeleton, coupled with experimental studies of the comparative effects of radium and strontium 90 in animals.

Concentrations of radiostrontium in the bones of grazing animals, as a result of weapons tests to date, are found to be several times higher than in human beings, although still far below amounts which are hazardous. This difference arises largely from the fact that grazing animals obtain their needed calcium (and other food requirement), by consuming large quantities of vegetation. The radioactivity in the bones of these animals depends on the quantity of radioactive debris that has settled on the plants from the air. Humans, on the other hand, obtain more than half their calcium from milk which has been screened somewhat by the animal body to remove much of the strontium.

This report and to some extent the earlier one (July 1955) mark an abrupt change in the character of the AEC statements. For the first time it is admitted that Sr 90 is absorbed through milk, accumulates in human bones and that the highest concentration occurs in children.

e) *July 1956*—(Twentieth Semiannual Report, pp. 104-106): This section bears the title "Radioactive Strontium Fall-out." Attached to the title is a significant footnote: "*Commissioner Thomas E. Murray does not subscribe to this section of the report." (p. 195) This section describes Commissioner Libby's views on the Sr 90 hazard. It contains statements relative to the occurrence of Sr 90 in milk, and its accumulation in bones. It also contains the following statement. (p. 105): "Dr. Libby's conclusion, based on a special Commission study designated 'Operation Sunshine' was that the long-term effects of fall-out from high-yield *weapons was not as great as generally supposed.*" This statement is astonishing when viewed against the fact that all previous AEC statements had denied that *any* significant effects occurred. The statement is a recitation of Dr. Libby's arguments and concludes: "Thus it appears that at the present level of weapons testing, the present and potential contribution of Sr 90 to the world ecology is not a significant factor." (p. 106)

f) *Jan. 1957*—(Twenty-first Semiannual Report, pp. 211-215): This report contains a brief description of the AEC's current position and activities relative to the Sr 90 problem. As stated previously this statement does note the occurrence of Sr 90 in milk and its accumulation in bone.

From the above chronology it is evident that:

1. The AEC has been studying the Sr 90 problem since 1948. Unclassified data published by Libby shows that the Sr 90 of soil, foods (including milk) and bones were measured at least as early as 1952.

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# How Adlai Stevenson Pressured the AEC Into Admitting the New Peril

2. Up to 1955 the AEC reports make no mention of the specific facts that render Sr 90 fallout dangerous. Its occurrence in milk and vegetables, its accumulation in human bones, its intensified accumulation in the bones of children.

3. After 1955 the AEC reports admit these facts, but take an optimistic view of their significant.

It is clear that the AEC knew *before 1955 that Sr 90 occurs in milk and accumulates in childrens' bones, but was unwilling to admit these facts publicly until after that date.*

The significance of the date is fairly apparent: In Dec. 1954 the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting in Berkeley, California, passed a resolution which established a AAAS committee to make the first investigation of the radioactivity hazard independent of the AEC. Within a few months it was announced that the National Academy of Sciences had established independent committees to study the question, (the Eighteenth Semiannual Report for Jan.-June 1955 notes on p. 92 that: "The Commission will cooperate in a broad study on radiation effects recently undertaken by the National Academy of Sciences by providing information and consultation services.") Thus by the middle of 1954 the AEC was aware that for the first time an independent scientific agency was about to study the fallout problem and would necessarily become aware of the as yet undisclosed aspects of the Sr 90 hazard. One may infer that the change in AEC policy regarding public notice of these facts might have been related to this impending event.

The most casual reading of the sections of the AEC reports that deal with the hazard from fallout impresses the scientist with the fact that the reports do not follow the practice—customary in science—of objective presentation of all available facts. Instead, the reports consistently emphasize those facts that suggest optimistic conclusions. Facts which suggest that fallout may be dangerous to some individuals are presented far less frequently and (as noted above) after a considerable delay in time. The facts that are most suggestive of a hazard do not appear in AEC reports until after the date of the first independent study of the fallout question.

2. *Maximum permissible concentrations:*

The maximum permissible concentration (MPC) is a value which indicates what dosage of radioactive material may be tolerated without expectation of apparent biological damage. MPC values have been established by an International Commission on Radiological Protection which is composed of scientific specialists in this field. Since 1925, this Commission has had the matter under continued study. It has issued recommended MPC values, of two types. One type (MPC, occupational) is applied to industrial and other workers who are exposed to radiation under supervised voluntary conditions. A second value (MPC, population) is recommended for large groups of the general population who are exposed indiscriminately and without supervision. The ICRP recommends population MPC values which are 10 times lower than the occupational MPC recommendations. This reflects the opinion that unsupervised populations composed of individuals in a wide range of states of health ought to be exposed to less radiation than medically-supervised individuals. All fallout situations involve the general population. Therefore, the hazards of fallout radiation ought to be judged against the population MPC—a standard which is ten times more rigorous than the occupational MPC.

When the AEC began to issue numerical statements about radiation from fall out it consistently used the *less* rigorous standard of the *occupational MPC.* Thus all public statements and scientific papers by Commission Libby—the AEC's chief spokesman in these matter—use the occupational MPC up to and including a paper published in Dec. 1956* ("Current Research Findings on Radioactive Fallout," Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci., *42*, 945, Dec. 1956). However on April 11, 1957 in an address at the U. of New Hampshire, Commissioner Libby for the first time made any mention of even the existence of the more rigorous population MPC. He states: "However, it has been recommended by high scientific authorities that the tolerable amounts of radioactive strontium for the population in general should be only 1/10th of those acceptable for workers who of course expose themselves voluntarily." (See page 1518, Joint Committee Hearings, Part 2.) Since then AEC statements have used the more rigorous standard.

Thus between October 1956 and April 1957 Commissioner Libby—and the AEC generally—changed the tolerance standards employed to gauge the fallout hazard by ten-fold *and in the direction which enhanced the biological significance of fallout.*

What is the significance of this date?

In Oct. 1956 the AEC position on fallout came under sharp attack from Adlai Stevenson, and from many scientists. One of the major points made by the AEC opponents was that—contrary to the then current practice of the AEC—the more rigorous standard of the population MPC should be employed. This point was ridiculed or ignored by the AEC during the 1956 presidential campaign. But by April 1957 the point was conceded and we find Commissioner Libby for the first time acknowledging the validity of the more vigorous standard.

3. *The genetic effects of fallout.*

One can establish an interesting chronological change in the public statements of the AEC regarding possible genetic effects of fallout radiation:

a. *January 1953* (Thirteenth Semiannual Report of the AEC, p. 78):

"Fallout radioactivity is far below the level which could cause a detectable increase in mutations, or inheritable variations."

b. October 1957 (Report of the AEC Advisory Committee on Biology and Medicine):

"The ultimate world-wide increase of defective children (from fallout of tests already completed) is 2500-13,000 per year."

In the period during which this sharp change in attitude took place (1953-1957) numerous geneticists came forward with direct criticism of the original AEC position (see, for example, the National Academy of Sciences report in June 1956, and the Joint Committee hearings in June 1957). Thus the AEC was only willing to admit the genetic hazard from fallout after this danger had been insistently discussed by other groups.

4. *Acceptable radiation levels for workers.*

The National Commitee on Radiological Protection recommended on December 10, 1956 that the exposure allowed industrial workers be lowered from 0.3 rem/week to 0.1 rem/week. This recommendation was accepted by the AEC as its official exposure maximum a year later, December 10, 1957.

5. *Massive local fallout from H-bomb explosions.*

It is now known that the explosion of the Bikini H-bomb in 1954 caused the deposition of severe local fallout over an area of about 7000 square miles. It was this cloud of radioactive dust that was encountered by the Japanese fishermen aboard the Lucky Dragon, and which also inadvertently exposed a number of Marshall Islanders to a significant dose of radioactivity. The fact that such intense fallout radioactivity would be spread over thousands of square miles by a single H-bomb explosion is of basic importance to civil defense planning. These facts were made public by the AEC in Feb. 1955. In the intervening time the facts were deduced by Japanese scientists and by American scientists (notably Dr. Ralph Lapp) from the public reports about the fishermen and island inhabitants. Despite pressure from these sources, and from civilian defense authorities, the AEC delayed 11½ months before making a public announcement of the facts.

* Submitted on Oct. 17, 1956.

**A Meeting Looks Certain, But With Little Chance of Any Success**

# Some Keys to the Tortuous Negotiations on the Way to the Summit

Certain observations may help to clarify the course of Russo-American maneuverings on the way to the summit:

1. There will almost certainly be a summit meeting. The NATO powers cannot reconcile their peoples to acceptance of U. S. missile bases until they have gone through the motions of trying to negotiate a settlement with the Russians. The Administration (particularly Nixon) thinks a summit meeting early next Fall would help the GOP sell itself as the peace party at the next elections.

## The Basic Difference Between the Two Sides

2. There is little prospect that a summit meeting will accomplish very much, if anything. The CIA's intelligence is that the Russians really fear accidental outbreak of a nuclear war, want to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons particularly to satellites they do not trust, and find the arms race a burden. Mr. Dulles thinks the Russians will pay a substantial price for relaxation of tension if only pressure is stepped up and maintained. *He sees negotiation as a means to change the status quo in Germany and Eastern Europe while the Russians are only willing to negotiate on the basis of the status quo.* This is the basic difference between them.

3. There is a considerable though subterranean body of opinion in the Capital which believes the burden of the arms race on the Russians is being overestimated, that stepping up the arms race is dangerous to ourselves as well as them, and that the best way of changing the status quo in Europe—and the only safe way—is to let mutual withdrawal, disengagement and relaxed tension "melt the ice" and change the status quo slowly. They see this as the only hope for Hungary and Poland, and they believe that confederation of East and West Germany would subvert the former, since the East German regime is unpopular and West Germany prosperous.

4. The dominant opinion of what might be termed the Adenauer-Dulles axis, however, is set not only on the rearmament of Germany but on its nuclear rearmament. Mr. Dulles believes a resurected Reich, armed with the H-bomb, would be our only reliable bulwark against Bolshevism. This is really the old Goebbels line in a new context.

5. The Administration is driving ahead with changes to the Atomic Energy Act which will enable it to give NATO and other allied powers the means and the knowledge needed to make the new weapons. The new legislation, on which public hearings were beginning as we went to press, will be rushed through Congress as rapidly as possible.

### Voice in The Wilderness

**"The claim has been made by the Administration sponsors of this legislation that it is desirable to have administrative flexibility to distribute atomic-hydrogen weapons, weapons parts, or weapons information to a certain ally or allies. Of course, it is simpler and quicker for the Executive to act than for the Congress to use the deliberative process. . . . This is but to argue that a monarch or a dictator is better equipped to make quicker, quieter and more efficient moves than can be made under the democratic process. . . . If this legislation becomes law we enter a new phase of international peril."**

*—Con. Chet Holifield, testifying March 27 against pending amendments to the Atomic Energy Act authorizing the President to give atomic weapons facilities to any or all of 42 allied nations.*

6. It is we believe impossible to exaggerate the terrible chain reaction passage of this legislation will set in motion. We cannot give France nuclear armament and deny it to Germany. If West Germany gets nuclear arms so will East Germany. Italy will not wish to be a second class power, and Yugoslavia must have nuclear arms if Italy has them.

## Syngman Rhee Already In Line

In Asia, Syngman Rhee is already pressing for nuclear arms. Turkey is an obvious candidate for them. Chiang Kai-shek will want them. If Turkey has them, it will be hard to deny them to Pakistan. If Pakistan has them, India must, too. Moscow will have to make Communist China a nuclear power. The fuses will be set all over the world.

7. Unfortunately a numbed American public opinion is almost completely unaware of these possibilites. The cold war press has printed little about them. So far only one member of Congress, Chet Holifield, is fighting this legislation. The recession overnight has become the dominant concern of American public opinion. Overshadowing all else is the fact that recession has made both business and labor eager for a step-up in the arms race as the quick and easy way to prime the pump of recovery. This is the factor likely to prove decisive unless public opinion can be awakened to the danger.

## Scientist Foe of Teller Warns Anew Against Spread of Nuclear Arms

**"As each new nation achieves the ability of manufacturing and using nuclear weapons, we will pass through successive 'points-of-no-return' where the problems of control will be increased enormously. . . .**

**"If New York, for example, were destroyed today, we could be quite sure that it was either an accident or the result of Soviet action and we would act accordingly. But if New York were destroyed 15 years from now, it might be literally impossible to determine the identity of the aggressor.**

**"It is very much in the interest both of the United States and the Soviet Union to slow down the rate of spread of nuclear-military technology in the world as much as possible. I believe that one of the more effective approaches to this, and by far the least difficult to carry out in practice, would be to secure a world-wide moratorium upon the testing of nuclear devices. . . .**

**"Such an agreement would buy us time. It would greatly lessen the problem of atmospheric contamination. And above all, it would be an agreement which, if successful, could be the beginning of a sequence of agreements which would lessen the dangers of nuclear holocaust.**

**"If such a network [of inspection posts] were formed, the individual stations could be used later for the construction of missile monitoring devices . . . fully as urgent a problem . . . for the reason that it is with missiles that the bombs will be delivered."**

*—Prof. Harrison Brown, California Institute of Technology, before the Humphrey Disarmament Subcommittee, March 25.*

**Lack of Internal Democracy Breeds Corruption and Fosters Strong-Arm Tactics**

# The Labor Movement (Like the Soviet Union) Needs A Bill of Rights

The trade union movement exhibits in a milder form the same evil apparent to objective observers of the Soviet bloc —the development of a bureaucratic crust with a privileged position. The fact that the leadership may arise from the working class is as irrelevant as the fact that so did many American millionaires—this did not keep them from exploiting the people from whom they sprang.

### Protection from Their Protectors

These bureaucracies in trade unionism and in socialist society naturally tend to be undemocratic; their privileges would be endangered by free election and free discussion. One of the basic problems in the creation of a healthy trade unionism, as of a healthy socialism, is how to transplant the traditions, the checks-and-balances, and the fundamental guaranties of political democracy into the economic sphere for the protection of the workers from their own "protectors."

This is the fundamental issue behind the controversy over the McClellan report. Though the headlines have created some distortion, the report itself is justified. For George Meany, who managed to co-exist for so many years in the labor movement with so many unsavory characters, to cry "smear" is most unworthy. No labor spokesman has a right to criticize this report without offering constructive proposals for undeniable evils. These evils—the appearance in some unions of Becks and Hoffas who made a private business of being labor leaders and used strong arm men to stay in power —spring from a source which afflicts too many of our unions. The lack of internal democracy enables the ruling clique to perpetuate itself in power, and power there too corrupts.

We urge progressive elements in the labor movement to drop stale preconceptions, to recognize realities and to support legislation to enforce internal democracy and financial accounting within labor unions. We believe the American Civil Liberties Union* provides an excellent starting point with the labor union "bill of rights" it has just made public, especially its provision which would forbid any union to "refuse membership, segregate or expel any person on the grounds of race, religion, color, sex, national origin, opinion or lack of United States citizenship"; its detailed insistence on fair trial within the unions, and the guarantees which would give dissenting minorities access to the rank and file.

### The Time to Act Is Now

The ACLU says, "A free society needs the practice of civil liberties, not only by the government, but by all its other great institutions." With this we are in heartiest agreement. The porcine elements, the grafters, the pork-choppers, which infest the labor movement are quite capable some day of joining hands with a U. S. Peron or a McCarthy in a labor-orientated Fascist dictatorship. The time to uproot the evil is now, and the McClellan committee—whatever its motives—has done a service in focussing public attention upon it.

**Confession**

**"The problems of lack of democratic procedures and corruption among a small minority of unions have been matters of concern to many in the labor movement for many years. The fact that there were instances of corrupt or unethical activities was not a secret that remained hidden until exposed by this [McClellan] committee. Responsible labor leaders knew of such instances, and they detested them more than any Senate committee crusading on the path of righteousness. Although they knew about it, eliminating the evil was another matter. In some instances, they did not have the power; in others, there possibly was a reluctance to face up to the challenge. . . .**

**"I do not intend to minimize the contribution the committee's hearings have made toward making possible organized labor's record of achievement in dealing with corrupt undemocratic influences. It can be fairly said that to a considerable extent this record would have been impossible to achieve without the committee's hearings and, in particular, its power of subpoena. . . ."**

*—Sen. Pat McNamara dissenting from the McClellan report on union corruption.*

* Our apologies to the ACLU and the Workers Defense League for our failure in a recent issue to credit them with the crucial part they played in the soldiers' discharge cases.

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